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MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.

ON THE PROJECTED PLANTATION OF ORMOND BY KING CHARLES I.

BY JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

[Read at the Meeting of July 9th.]

The violent proceedings of the earl of Strafford with respect to the confiscation of Connaught and Clare are well known. About the year 1635, by means of threats and heavy fines imposed on the jurors, he obtained from the several Grand Inquests, summoned in the respective counties, findings entitling the king to nearly the entire of that province, with a view to planting it with new settlers from England, in the same way as king James I. in the preceding reign had planted Ulster.

It is not so well known, however, that the various baronies that now form the North Riding of Tipperary, were within the scheme of the new plantation, which even proceeded so far that the king's title to it was found, and the whole territory surveyed, mapped and valued, so that (to use the language of Mr. William Bazill, attorney-general of Ireland for the lord Protector and Commonwealth) "nothing was wanting but distribution."

The general ignorance on this head may, perhaps, be owing to the fact, that while the confiscation of Connaught forms a very remarkable episode in Carte's sketch of the history of Ireland, introductory to his "Life of James Duke of Ormond," that writer has scarcely touched the projected plantation of the North Riding of Tipperary, although the territory laid out for that plantation formed the earliest and most distinguished part of the possessions of the duke and his ancestors.

A short sketch of this portion of our history, obtained for the most part from unpublished sources, for access to some of which thanks are

due to the present noble Marquis of Ormonde, may not be without interest.

Among the earliest of the Norman adventurers in Ireland was Theobald Fitz Walter, ancestor of the Butlers. In the reign of king Henry II. he had possession of the greater portion of the North Riding of Tipperary, and some part of the adjoining territory of Limerick. By a deed or charter of the time of king John (A.D. 1200), still preserved in the Castle of Kilkenny, he is found possessed of five cantreds and a-half in Munster, viz.—“the Borough of Kildelo, with the half cantred called Truoghed, in which the said borough lyeth; the cantreds of Eli O’Carroll, Eliogarty, Owurmonth, Areth, and Wetheni, and also Owetheni, O’Kalethan, and Owetheni-Hoiffernan, with judgment or trial by water, or fire ordeal, and by duel or combat.”*

The cantred of Ormond, which the descendants of Fitz Walter in the reign of king Edward III. preferred for the style of their earldom to the more ancient one of Carrick, was their chief manor, in the centre of which Fitz Walter built for his residence and the seat of his jurisdiction, the castle of Nenagh—a pile that, to judge from its ruins, must have been almost regal. In front of a circular keep, unapproached in height and size by any similar remain in Ireland, stands the ruin of a great baronial hall where, no doubt, were entertained on business and at festivals the freeholders that did suit and service for their lands held of the manor, that district being at that day planted and settled by the tenants and followers of Fitz Walter, who held by knight’s service, as of the castle of Nenagh. Around the castle grew up a town, inhabited by English artisans, skilled to minister to the wants of the lord of the manor and the neighbouring planters. We have proof in the Pipe Rolls as early as the 15th year of Edward I., that the castle was then the chief pile of the Butlers. In this year, before delivering to Theobald, son and heir of Theobald le Boteller, his lands and manors about Nenagh, which had been in the king’s (Edward I.) hands by reason of Theobald’s minority, Walter de la Haye, escheator of Ireland, had allowance in passing his accounts for 106s. 4d., “which he expended in works about the castle of Nanach (or Nanath), between the morrow of the clause of easter, in the 15th year of the reign of Edward the king, and the same day, in the 17th year, viz., in repairs of houses, and in building a house below the gate, in repairing and roofing other towers and houses, in rebuilding a bridge, gates, and pallisades, which were thrown

* That accomplished Irish scholar and historian, John O’Donovan, Esq., LL.D., has furnished the following valuable note:—“The ‘Borough of Kildelo’ has long been and is still a puzzle to me, but I am of opinion that it is **Borris O’Leagh** in the County of Tipperary, and that the Truoghed or Cantred belonging to it was the old barony of Hy-Lughhaidh or **Ileagh**, now included in the barony of Eliogarty. Ely O’Carroll, which was anciently part of Munster (and is still a part of the diocese of Killaloe), comprised the two southern baronies of the King’s County. Owurmonth is Ormond; Areth and Wetheni are now Arra and Owny in the County of Tipperary; and Owetheni, O’Kalethan, and Owetheni-hoiffernan are now included in the barony of Owny, in the County of Limerick.”

down by a storm, and on repairs of the prisons—viz., in laying of joists and repairs of doors and locks, by the writ of the king, &c. And to the same Walter £41, which he paid to the constable of the aforesaid castle of Nanach forwarding the said castle. And, for the same period, 20s. 4d., which he expended for horses with military harness, viz., at times four horses, and at times six, as occasion required, for maintaining the ward of the said castle during the war of William de Burgo.”*

That here, in early days, was not only the residence of the first of the Fitz Walters, but the place also of his affections, appears from his having built in the meadows adjoining the town of Nenagh, in the year 1209, the priory of St. John the Baptist, whose graceful ruins are yet seen on the bank of the river at Tyone.† And on the slope of the Keeper mountain which overlooks on one side the plains of Ormond and on the other the rich pastures of Limerick, he erected the abbey of Owny or Abingdon, to which his body was carried from Nenagh to be buried (Carte’s *Ormond*, pref. p. xxi). The event, probably, that deprived Nenagh of the residence of this noble family, and transferred it to Kilkenny, was an insurrection of the Irish, in the reign of king Edward III. On that occasion, as appears by the records of the Butler family, preserved in Kilkenny Castle, the Irish of Munster drove out from the territory of Ormond all the English gentry and freeholders, and destroyed the town of Nenagh, but were unable to take the castle, because of its great strength. The following is the account of this important event, as given in a memoir of the Ormonde family‡—the writer is speaking of James, the second earl :—

“In the year 1348 he slew and overthrew the O’Kennedies that raised a rebellion in Ormond, who were headed by the chief of their sept, Daniel O’Kennedy, whom he took prisoner and hanged, and so dispatched that horrid rebellion, contrived by all the Irishrie in Connaught and Munster. But before he could or did destroy those rebels, they had rooted out and ruined all the English gentlemen and freeholders that dwelled in Ormond, whose ancestors for a long time had inherited and settled there, as the Berminghams, Cantwells, Coogans, and many more of English extraction ; and rased to the ground the town of Nenagh (being then a town-corporate), and all the houses and castles in that country, except the castle of Nenagh, which was then strongly guarded by the said James earl of Ormond.”

Thus deprived of their English neighbours and followers, it would be natural for the Butlers to prefer for their residence the fairer and more civilized district of Kilkenny, where also, they had acquired estates at a very early period. In the reign of king Richard II., James, the third earl, built the castle of Gowran, and made it his chief residence until, in the year 1392, he also purchased from Sir Hugh le Despenser the

* Extracted from the Pipe Rolls in Birmingham Tower, Dublin Castle, by the Rev. James Graves.

† Tyone, i.e., *Tigh Eoghain*, or the house of John.

‡ MS.—Kilkenny Castle.

great estates in the County of Kilkenny, derived from the heirs of William earl Marshal, who had obtained them by marriage with Matilda, sole daughter and heiress of earl Strongbow. In this purchase was included the Castle of Kilkenny, which afterwards became, what Nenagh had earlier been, the chief seat of the family.

It appears, however, that the castle of Nenagh, though its strength defied their efforts in 1348, subsequently fell into the hands of the Irish ; but at what particular period this occurred is not so plain.

In the many statements of title prepared about the time of the projected plantation of Ormond, the entry of the Irish into that territory is always assigned to the reign of king Henry VI., a period in which the English interest in Ireland was reduced to its lowest point of depression in consequence of the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry leaving the country to take part in the civil wars then waging between the adherents of the duke of York, and the supporters of king Henry VI. The loss of this territory, however, occurred at a much earlier date.

In the Irish annals we find it stated, that in the year 1396 died O'Kennedy, "lord of Ormond," which shows that even then the Irish chief had resumed his position in the mind of the people in his own territory.* But the crown lawyers had a very particular reason for placing it at that later date, which was to bring the Irish occupants within the operation of the statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of king Henry VI., which enacted that no length of possession should avail to give the Irish a title to retain lands acquired in this period of weakness.†

The true date would appear to be the end of the reign of king Edward III., or beginning of the reign of Richard II., as set forth in the following statement, also prepared about the period of the projected plantation :—

"And so shall you find other liveries sued by succeeding heirs [of Theobald Fitz Walter, the first settler], until the time of king Richard II., when the intestine wars in England hindered the care of this kingdom, which opportunitie (and the wars in France) the Irish quickly perceiving took the advantage thereof."‡

This nearly agrees with the statement of lord James Butler, made about the time of the recovery of the manor of Nenagh, in the reign of king Henry VIII., where, complaining of the arbitrary conduct of lord Leonard Gray, the deputy, and of his enmity to his father as a foe of the Geraldines, he says, that the lord deputy had promised to give Ferganany (Ferdinand) O'Conor, the earl of Kildare's son-in-law, Roscrea and Nenagh, "whiche hath been thes 160 yers in Irishmen is possession, unto such tyme as my Lord my father recoverid the same, by reason of the Kinges Majesties graunte to him therof,

* *Annals of the Four Masters.*

† 35 Hen. vi. c. 3. Ir.

‡ MS. A.D. 1631.—Kilkenny Castle.

oute of the said Irishmens handes, nowe of late.”* This letter was written in the year 1538, and the castle being in the hands of the Irish in the year 1536, as appears from the suggestions then made to the king, that it should be recovered by the royal army, it must have been regained in the year 1537, and thus lord James Butler’s statement would carry back the date of its being lost to the reign of king Edward III.

To its peculiar situation the loss of the districts must be chiefly attributed. Surrounded on the east and north by the woody district of Ely O’Carroll, and on the west by the Shannon, there swoln into a lake; it is shut in towards the south, by which side alone communications could be maintained with the English territory, by the Keeper mountains and the Barnane (or Devil’s-bit) range.

In early times it would appear, from the following authority, that Ormond formed two great manors co-extensive possibly with its subsequent division into baronies :—“The two great Manors the Earls had in Ormond, were Weperons, now called by the Irish Ballynaclough,† and the other the Nenagh; upon these two manors the whole country depended. The first the Earl lost by the Kennedies, who hold it to this day; the latter the Earl hath still in his possession.”‡ The Kennedys here alluded to were a very powerful clan connected with the O’Briens, who held possession of the hills of Arra (hence called the Mac-I-Brien Arra), on the left bank of the Shannon, in the County of Tipperary, opposite the County of Clare. Over this territory the great O’Brien of Clare claimed sovereignty, which he only surrendered under treaty with king Henry VIII.§ The O’Briens at one period had possession of the castle of Nenagh; from one of whom possibly it got, among the Irish, the name of the castle of Manus, by which it was known in the reign of king Henry VIII. Be that as it may, it was only recovered by Piers earl of Ormond, in 1537, and the king’s grant, by virtue of which, according to lord James’s expression, he regained it, forms a very important link in the chain of events connected with the history of the projected plantation of the territory.

At the usurping of the crown of England by Henry of Hereford,—that time, as Chaucer sings—

“when Richard was deposed,
And high and low with happy Harry closed”—

the earl of Ormond followed the successful fortunes of the son of the duke of Lancaster, who succeeded Richard II. as Henry IV., and the earls of Ormond became thenceforth great court favourites with the

* Lord James Butler to Cowley. *State Papers*, Hen. viii., vol. iii. part iii. p. 32.

† This name signifies “Town of the stone,” i.e., of the stone house, castle, or fortress; and I incline to think that it was the name by which the Irish called Clough Jordan. The Inquisitions relating to the castles of the O’Kennedys bear out this conjecture.—J. O’DONOVAN.

‡ MS. A.D. 1631.—Kilkenny Castle.

§ *State Papers*, Hen. viii., vol. iii. part iii. p. 362.

three successive princes of the line of Lancaster, Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., and were thereby induced to become absentees.

In a petition of the noblemen and gentry of Tipperary to king Henry VIII. praying that Piers earl of Ossory might be given the government of Tipperary, they say, "that up to the period of Henry V.'s reign, they had always been well governed by the earl of Ormond, until James, fourth earl of that name, went into England. That his son and heir James earl of Wiltshire, being then treasurer of England, having his two brothers John and Thomas there with him, being in great esteem and favour, neglected the said country and other his inheritance in Ireland. That by his continued absence in England, his kinsmen, who had been left each in command of his separate district, renouncing their former commands, fell together by the ears, disobeying the seneschal, and warring one against the other, they brought that County almost to destruction."*

This James earl of Wiltshire, whose absence was so fatal to the good government of Tipperary, and the earl's inheritance in Ireland, was taken prisoner, fighting on the Lancaster side, at the battle of Towton-field, and was beheaded at Newcastle and attainted.

His brothers John and Thomas were subsequently restored in blood, and respectively succeeded to the title, the latter leaving two daughters, co-heiresses, one of whom married Sir William Bullen, whose granddaughter, the celebrated Anna Bullen, became wife of king Henry VIII.

Upon the death of Thomas earl of Ormond, without issue male, the title by right of entail devolved on Sir Piers of Ormond; but Sir Thomas Bullen earl of Wiltshire, who represented one of the heirs general, insisted that it passed to the two daughters, and was thus in abeyance; and king Henry VIII. being then anxious to gratify the Bullens, by creating Thomas Bullen earl of Ormond, Piers, rather than oppose a king who was said "to spare no woman in his lust nor no man in his anger," surrendered the earldom, and was content to take the new title of earl of Ossory.

But what was harder still, he submitted from the same motives, to the earl of Wiltshire's claim to the Ormonde estates in Ireland, as representing the heirs general, though they were expressly entailed on Sir Piers. For Thomas earl of Ormond, being resident in England, and unable to make any profit of his Irish estates, made a settlement of them in his life time on his cousin Piers, on condition of his rendering a fourth part of the profits to him and his heirs. Piers being thus deprived of the motive to exert himself to recover these estates, the Ormond territory continued in the hands of the "Irishrie" at the period of the general insurrection in 1534, known as Silken Thomas' or the Geraldine rebellion, in which Piers earl of Ossory, and his son

* This curious instrument, which is of the year 1542, with the seals and signatures of the executing parties annexed, is still preserved amongst the MS. treasures at Kilkenny Castle. The seals, which are on slips of the parchment, are so numerous that the instrument appears as if fringed.

lord James Butler, rendered the most signal services to the crown. The defection was so general, in consequence of the attachment of both English and Irish to the house of Fitzgerald, and this rebellion cost the king such an excessive charge to put it down, that he submitted it to his council whether his victory might not be considered a new conquest of Ireland, and so all the land in the kingdom at his disposal, as at the first invasion. But being advised to the contrary, he caused the Statute of Absentees to be passed, vesting in the crown the estates of the duke of Norfolk in the Counties of Carlow and Kildare; and those of the earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford in the County of Wexford; together with the lands of all the English abbeys in Ireland, on the grounds that these noblemen and their ancestors had by their long residence in England given occasion to their estates, which were granted to them for the defence and support of the crown of England, to fall into the hands of "the wild Irishrie, the natural enemies of the kings of England and of English dominion," and that in the late rebellion, those who dwelt on these estates, instead of being aids to the king's forces, had been confederates of Thomas Fitzgerald in his attempt to disinherit the king and his heirs for ever of his land of Ireland.*

In this statute were included the estates of the heirs general of Thomas earl of Ormond. But Piers earl of Ossory had at this time become so high in favour with king Henry VIII., on account of his service in the field, that it is scarcely to be supposed that it was done with any hostile intent against him, but rather, for the purpose of freeing these estates from the claims of the heirs general, and so to enable the king to confer them on him as he did by his grant under letter patent in the following year.

By this grant, which bears date at Westminster on the 23rd of October, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of king Henry VIII., and is stated to be made "in consideration of the good and laudable services performed by our most dear cousin Peter Butler earl of Ossory and Ormond, in our land of Ireland, in the wars there; and also in consideration of the good and laudable services by our right trusty and faithful James Butler, lord Butler, our treasurer of our land aforesaid, even to the shedding of his blood in our wars aforesaid against the Geraldts and other our rebels there, the king grants to said Peter and James and the heirs male of the body of the said Peter (among lands in various counties) the lands of Carrickmagriffin, Killenaule, Knockgraffon, Castleturre, Thurles, the Nenaagh, Roscrea, Ballinry, and Channonstown in the County of Tipperary, to hold of the king and his successors by the service of one knight's fee."

In the year after, viz., thirtieth of Henry VIII., this grant was confirmed by Act of Parliament, all statutes to the contrary notwithstanding,—the effect of the whole being to give Piers earl of Ormond, a clear and indefeasible title to the Ormonde estates in Ireland, freed of all

* 28 H. viii. c. 3.

the claims of the heirs general, or of any prejudice from the former statute vesting them in the king.

This was the king's grant alluded to by lord James Butler in the year 1538, as that under which Piers his father had lately recovered Nenagh, after having been for 160 years in possession of the Irish.

The possession recovered, however, seems rather to have been an acknowledgment of title here and there than any actual power of disposing or managing these lands. Cowley, in the plan for reconquering and replanting Ireland, which he submitted to king Henry VIII. in 1537, proposes that after the recovery of Wexford and the country within the line of the Barrow, "the Butlers should reinhabit Ormond, then in the possession of the Irishrie" (*State Papers*, Henry VIII. vol. ii. part iii. p. 451). It is very clear, however, that there was no planting them then with English tenants. In the year 1546, the manor of Nenagh is described in the Inquisition taken on lord James Butler's death, 1st. Edward VI. as worth nothing "because waste." And at the year 1548, in the Irish annals, O'Carroll is said to have burned Nenagh, "both monastery and town," from the fortress out, leaving no English except a few warders that were in "the tower of Mac Manus."*

What seems to have been done was to get some of the O'Kennedys to take leases. This is the proof of possession relied on by lord Ormond at the period of the projected plantation. "The said James (he alleges) disposed of the cantred of Ormond by making several leases unto several of the O'Kennedies and others, reserving rents out of every particular ploughland, and amongst others the chief of that name took a lease, the counterpart whereof is yet extant." With this in those troublesome times lord Ormond was obliged to rest content, leaving the bringing in of a more civilized race to be the improvement of a future and more favourable period.

We are now to leave lord Ormonde invested, as far as king Henry VIII. could do so, with the possession of the North Riding of Tipperary, and pass to the reign of king Charles I.—an interval of a century, when the plans for the improvement of Ormond, unexecuted in the earlier reign, were resumed.

The plantation of Ireland, or as we should now call it, the colonising it, or settling it with English, has ever been the chief secret, or maxim of empire, as securing the dominion of England more and more.

"The conquest of Ireland began by plantation," says Sir John Whitelock,† when, on the 13th February, 1642-3, as speaker of the House of Commons he recommended to the care of the Lords the Adventurers' Act, the first of a series, which ended in the planting of Ireland in 1654 with the Cromwellian soldiery.

* "This was the name of the massy tower now called 'the Round' of Nenagh."—*Four Masters*, vol. v. p. 512, n.

† *Speech of Sir J. Whitelock at the Conference between the Lords and Commons*. Small 4to. London, 1642. Thorpe Pamphlets, Royal Dublin Society.

And as the conquest began, so it has been continued. In king Henry VIII.'s day it was complained that the blood of the first conquest was in a manner worn out;* and the statesmen of his court and time were full of projects for replanting it. Conquest, they urged, without "inhabiting" (another term for colonising) was of no avail. Would to God, writes one in 1534, that it would please the king's highness to send Englishmen to inhabit here, for there is no way to the reformation of this land but that.†

The replanting of it, however, only commenced in Philip and Mary's reign, when the King's and Queen's Counties were planted. Next followed the plantation of Munster on the putting down of the Desmond rebellion, when queen Elizabeth, alarmed at the Spaniards having landed to the aid of the rebels, commenced "the repeopling with her loyal English subjects" of the four southern Counties of Cork, Waterford, Kerry, and Limerick.‡

This plantation, however, was destroyed in 1598, "on the Blackwater overthrow,"§ as Hugh O'Neill's victory beside that river in the County of Armagh was called, "the greatest defeat the English ever received from the days of the Conquest," when the Munster planters were rooted out in the twinkling of an eye,|| "making the work of years," as lord Bacon described it, "to be the spoil of days."

The plantation of the six counties of Ulster was next. But, besides this well known work of king James I., he resettled Munster; he planted Leinster wherever the Irish had hitherto held their own in it, as Longford which was O'Ferrall's country, Wicklow which was the O'Toole's and Byrne's country, the north part of Wexford which was M'Murrough's and Kavenagh's country, and Iregan and Kilcoursey, M'Geoghegan's and Mulloy's country, which he added to the Queen's and King's Counties respectively.

Of Connaught, he planted Leitrim and Roscommon, hitherto Irish. So complete was the work that there remained no Irish countries for king Charles to plant, and therefore when he was seeking for ways at once of extending the English interest and of raising money without the aid of a parliament, and turned to fresh plantations in Ireland as a source of revenue, he was forced to the hunting out of old titles in the crown, whereby to set aside the intervening claims, and thus reach lands long held in security under English titles.

Connaught, though held by men of ancient English descent, under patents from queen Elizabeth and king James, had scarcely any English Protestants. In Sligo there were not above one hundred and forty altogether, about as many in Mayo and Roscommon, and in Galway

* Deputy and Council to the King, A.D. 1536. *State Papers*, H. viii., vol. ii. part iii. p. 338.

† *Ibid.*, p. 308.

‡ Articles of the Plantation of Munster, A.D. 1586. Harris' *MSS.*, vol. v., Royal Dublin Society.

§ Sir T. Phillips' Letter (1625) to king Charles i. Harris' *Hibernica*, p. 131.

|| A.D. 1603.—Fynes Moryson's *History of Ireland*.

of Protestants of estate and influence there were not 1000.* “Here a noble English Plantation was design’d.”† And the means to it was the setting up of an old title, as old as the reign of king Edward III., to that province. Lord Strafford’s proceedings in the Inquisitions finding king Charles I. entitled under this claim, to the setting aside of all the numerous intervening patents, are well known. But besides a title to Connaught, it was thought another had been discovered for him to the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, and other baronies in the north part of Tipperary, and some adjacent territories in Limerick, the estate of the earls of Ormonde, which, by the Statute of Absentees, passed in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII., vested in the crown.

This territory was altogether inhabited and in great measure owned by mere Irish. On reference to the Book of Distributions accompanying the Down Survey, which gives in its first column, “Proprietors, anno 1641,” it will be found that while the South Riding of Tipperary was so completely in the hands of ancient English families, that not the name of an Irishman is to be found; yet in the North Riding, in the baronies of Kilnemanagh, Kilnelongarty, Owney, and Arra, Upper and Lower Ormond, the lands were entirely (except as to the demesne lands of the earl of Ormonde) in the possession of the Kennedys, O’Briens, Ryans, Gleasons, Mearas, Meaghers, Magraths, O’Hogans, Dwyers, Carrols, Egans, and other men of Irish nation and name.

It therefore presented itself naturally as a district for plantation. Accordingly, the king by the following letter (A.D. 1631) directed commissions to issue for holding Grand Inquests to find the title of the crown:—

“Right Trustie and well beloved cozins and counsellors we greet you well.

“Whereas, it hath been generally observed that nothing hath caused the state of that, our kingdom of Ireland, more to flourish than that great and Princely care and judgement observed and putte in practice by our late deare Royal Father, King James of blessed memory, in causing divers of those territories and counties which escheated to the Crown to be planted, and by that means civilized. Wee, therefore, thinking it fitte to imitate so glorious and goode a worke, as well in regard of our great zeal to almighty God (which in the whole course of our government hath been and is our chiefest care), as our tender and gracious respect to that kingdom, where we desire that civilitie and goodness should be known and embraced by those which as yet are ignorant thereof; wherefore, we, having received certain information that the territories and counties of Upper and Lower Ormond, containing two barronies in the County of Tipperary, or Crosse Tipperary, in that our realm, doe in the right of our crown, rightfully belong to, and are lawfully come to us, have resolved to conferre the said Territories and Coun-

* Carte’s *Ormond*, vol. i. p. 212. Lord Strafford’s *Letters*.

† Sir Richard Cox. *Hib. Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 56.

ties of Upper and Lower Ormond upon such British undertakers as shall be conformable to the religions established in the Churches of our other kingdoms, and every way obedient unto our laws.

“But yet we are not for these pretences, how faire soever, resolved to leave the ancient inhabitants of those partes destitute of sufficient means to support themselves, according to their several qualities and degrees. To the end, therefore, that our just and lawful titles, as well to the premises as to all other lands and tenements with the hereditaments and appurtenances in the said County of Tipperary, or Crosse Tipperary, whereof information shall be given unto you that wee have good title thereunto, may more clearly appear, wee do hereby require and authorise you forthwith upon the receipt hereof to inform yourselves of the same, and thereupon to cause one or more commission or commissions to issue under the great seale of that our kingdom unto fit commissioners by the advice of our council there for the enquiry and finding by one or more inquisition or inquisitions to enquire into our right and title to the said counties or territories of Upper and Lower Ormond, and other the premises. And for the due and better effecting thereof our pleasure is, that such of our learned counsell as you shall think fit may be employed in that our service. And that the natives, reputed freeholders and owners of the said lands may have convenient notice of the time and place to be appointed for the finding of the said inquisitions, and that they may be allowed by their counsel to set forth their title thereunto if they have any. And upon return of the said inquisition to be taken, or upon notice of any inquisition or inquisitions formerly taken, or that shall appear by any other matter of record finding a title for us to the said counties or territories and premises, to certify us forthwith of what shall be so found to be entitled unto as in our princely judgment we shall think fit.

“And for our better information of the quantity and quality of the said lands and premises to be found for us, we require you, upon the finding thereof, to take order that all the said lands and hereditaments may be surveyed and measured by sufficient sworn surveyors as in such cases is usual. And it is our further will and pleasure that forthwith upon receipt hereof, you take order that caveats be entered in the offices of our several officers there, whom it may concerne, that the said counties or territories of Upper and Lower Ormond and the premises, or any part thereof, be granted to any person or persons whatsoever, until upon your return of what title shall be found for us to the premises, and the said survey our further pleasure therein be signified. And these our letters, notwithstanding our former directions to the contrary, shall be as well unto you our justices there now being, as to the deputy justices or chief governor, or governors, and chancellor of that our kingdom, which hereafter for the time shall be, and to all other officers and ministers there, whom it may concern, a sufficient warrant in this behalf.”*

The earl of Ormond hearing of the intended plantation, presented the following petition for counsel to be assigned to him :—

“The humble petition of Walter earl of Ormond and Ossory.

“To the Right Hon. the Lords Justices—

“Humbly sheweth unto your Lordships, that whereas your petitioner is given to understand by common bruit in the country and not otherwise, that a commission is intended to issue shortly to enquire and find a title for the King’s most excellent Majesty, in the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond and other territories in the County of Tipperary, where most of your petitioner’s estate doth lie. Your petitioner therefore most humbly prayeth that your Lordships may be pleased (according to the common justice of the kingdom and his Majesty’s letters sent over concerning the plantation, by which every subject is admitted to set forth his title) for to assign unto your petitioner competent counsel to declare and set forth his titles and rights at that enquiry, if any such be intended, and your petitioner shall ever pray.”

On receipt of this memorial the following order of Council was made :—

“5 Martij, 1681–2.

“We are pleased that Patrick Darcy, Esq., John Pollexfen, Esq., and James Dillon, Esq., be all of counsell with the petitioner at the grand inquiry, whereof we require them to take notice, and to be of his counsel accordingly.

“A. LOFTUS, CANC.*

“R. CORKE.”

Lord Ormonde also sought the opinion of his family lawyer, whose sensible advice appears from the following :—

“Coppie of the instructions about the busyness of the plantacon, by Harry Comerford.

“INSTRUCTIONS.

“A petition to be exhibited to his Majesty in the names of the earle and lord viscount Thurles, setting forth how the said earl and his ancestors have successively enjoyed the cantred or barronies of Upper and Lower Ormond by title derived from the crown since Henry II. his tyme by ancient patents, and how all the English and Irish there dwelling doe hould all lands they possess there, of the manor of Nenagh now in the said earl’s possession, and doe answer suit, rents, duties, customs and services for every foot of their said lands to the said earl yearly, and have soe done from time to time as by several offices lately found upon the demise of Thomas late earl of Ormond, upon full hearing in the Court of Wards, doth evidently appear, soe as all be in effect but his tenants at will or sufferance, besyde a few upon whom his ancestors conferred lands there.

“In regard whereof the said earl and lord viscount be now humble

* MSS.—Kilkenny Castle.

suitors to his Majesty to make stay of a plantation intended in that county, being the most ancient possession they hold in Ireland, and a main and great part of the sustentation and maintenance they have of their honors, which if it should be cut off by this plantation would quite disable them and be a great main to their estate, and therefore if his Majesty might be entitled thereunto, or unto any part of the possessions of the Irish there, it is more fit and proper for the house of Ormond to be suitors to have the preferment thereof of his Majesty, for their manifold faithful and remarkable services always done and performed to the crown, than that by their ruin and overthrow others should be advanced.

“But if his Majesty will not be pleased to grant this at the humble suit of the said earl and lord viscount, then to petition that his Highness may be pleased to give directions, and caution that the commissioners of that enquiry [be not suffered] to have hand in and part of that plantation of that country either mediately or immediately, for some of forrain counties of Ireland made lately petty purchases from some of the said baronies of Ormond, who were terrified and moved to part from it with the report of this plantation, to work and effect their own ends.

“And therefore the said earl and viscount are to petition to his said Majesty that such parties be secluded from being commissioners or jurors at the said enquiry, and that the said enquiry may be by the most substantial and best men of quality living and understanding of the County of Tipperary, for the more fair and indifferent passage of that business.

“And likewise that the said earl and viscount are by the same or other petition to sue unto his Majesty that his Highness may be pleased to express in his directions and instructions for the plantation, whether the Irish natives of that cantred of Ormond are only to be planted, or shall the ancient English natives be of the same condition and respect with the Irish.”*

On the other hand the crown lawyers were busy preparing the case of the king's title to Ormond. It would seem that they were unaware of the entail made by Thomas earl of Ormond of his Irish estates on Piers Butler to the exclusion of his daughters, the heirs general, as also of the statute of 30th Henry VIII. confirming the king's re-grant of these premises by patent 29th Henry VIII. to Piers Butler. The statute was not a printed one; and though they had some intimation of the patent, yet as it was not to be found on the ordinary rolls, they pretended to doubt if it passed these particular lands, or they relied perhaps on the use of unscrupulous means, familiar to lord Strafford, of setting it aside. Two other difficulties or objections troubled them: one, that the earl of Ormond had the title-deeds, which they could not expect his assent to the production of; the other,

that the Irish of Ormond might insist on their ancestors having acquired a title by the Statute of Limitations, as against the Ormond family, at the passing of the Act of Absentees, so that nothing thereby vested in the crown. With these preliminary remarks, the reasonings of the crown lawyers on the course to be followed on the part of the king, will be easily understood. The following is the case prepared by them :—*

“King Henry II. graunted unto William de Braosa and his heirs, the cantreds and territories of Upper Ormond and Lower Ormond, Elyogartie, Ikerryn, Owey, Kilnemanagh, Kilnalongarty, Ileagh and Arra, in the County of Tipparie. William de Braosa, 2nd of King John, graunted the premises to Theobald Fitz Walter and his heirs, who graunted them to several English tenants to be held by certain rents and services, as both Ormonds to be held of the manor of Nenagh, and so the rest as of other manors. The premises came by lineal descent to the heirs of the said Theobald, until that in the tyme of King Henry VI. the O’Kennedies, O’Dwyers, Meaghers, and others of the mere Irish (taking advantage of the earls of Ormond being absent in England) did enter into the premises, and killed and forcibly outed the former tenants, the right, title, and interest descended unto Thomas earl of Ormond, who died leaving two daughters. 28 Hen. VIII. all the lands of the heirs general of the earl of Ormond, or whereunto they had right, title, or entry, are given to the crown. To prove that the heirs general of Thomas earl of Ormond had right to their lands, it appears that the Kennedies and O’Briens, at the tyme of their entry were not counted among English subjects but Irish enemies, and not amenable to the laws, then by the statute of 36 Henry VI. their ancestors by such entry lost all the rights which they any wise might pretend to the said lands from them and their heirs, so that at the making of the statute 28 Henry VIII. they had no right, but the right still continued in the heirs general of the earl of Ormond, and so by the said act were given to the crown.

“Against which will be objected that in the year after the passing of the Statute of Absentees, viz. 29th of Henry VIII., the King, by his letters patents, did graunt unto Piers earl of Ormond, and the heirs male of his body, all the lands that came to the crown by the said act of Parliament, or were ancientlie belonging to the earls of Ormond, but what lands in particular were within that charter or patent, we cannot tell, for they rest with the earl. So that search is to be made in England, as well for the patent of King Henry II. and King John, as of the patent of 29th Henry VIII., of which there is no record to be found in this kingdom,† as appears by the earl’s great rolls produced at the Court of Wards.”

* MSS.—Kilkenny Castle.

† This was a mistake: for though not enrolled in Chancery, it might have been found on the Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer, entered in Hilary Term, 34th H. viii., where the writer has had the pleasure of inspecting it through the kindness of James Frederick Ferguson, Esq., of the (late) Exche-

The king's counsel were greatly embarrassed by the difficulty arising out of the ancient evidences being in the hands of the earl of Ormond, and they more than once attended before the lord deputy about the preparing a case for the Inquisitions. Serjeant Eustace suggested "that the title to the territory being in the crown" (which it will be observed was assuming the point to be proved) "the muniments of title belonged to the King, and that lord Ormond, on an information to be filed in the Exchequer, could be compelled to bring them in for his Majesty's avail."*

Lord Ormond, however, though he knew the strength of his own case, and the difficulties of the crown with regard to the production of the ancient title-deeds, resolved to compromise with the king, provided his own rights were preserved.

This was so well taken by the deputy, says Carte, that, by the treaty made pursuant to this offer, he not only secured his own lands and rights, but also in consideration of producing his deeds for the clearing of the king's title, he obtained a fourth part of the lands which his majesty should take to himself to plant (over and besides the parts to be allotted to the natives), and 1000 acres to each of his friends, John Pigott, Gerald Fennell, and David Routh, Esqrs., upon the like rent and terms as the planters of the rest of the premises should enjoy their shares.†

The holding of the Inquisition having been deferred till the year 1637, and the 12th of August being appointed for opening the commission at Clonmel, a formal agreement was entered into on the 2nd August, 1637, when the articles were signed by the lord deputy and the earl in the presence of eleven members of the privy council, and the lord deputy having proceeded to Clonmel, a title was there found for the king.‡

quer Record Commission, a gentleman skilled in the highest degree in the records of Ireland, and familiar with all that is contained on the Exchequer Rolls. He states that in searching for Patents these rolls are often overlooked, though containing enrolments as effectual as those of the Chancery.

* MSS.—Kilkenny Castle.

† Carte's *Ormond*, vol. i. p. 59.

‡ The Inquisition is enrolled in Chancery. Among the Orders of Commissioners for Ireland in 1656 is the following:—"21st May, 1656.—Whereas it is desired by Sir C. Coote, Knight, and Bart., Lord President of Connaught, and Sir Robert King, Knight, that Sir Paul Davis, Knight, might testify his knowledge concerning some transactions of affairs in this nation, in the late Earl of Strafford's time, and in particular upon what grounds the late King was entitled to the Irish and Protestants' estates in Connaught and Counties of Clare, Lymerick and Tipperary, and upon what ground the proprietors in Ireland were necessitated to take new letters patent of their estates upon encrease of rents and alterations of tenures, as also the tenants of Archbishops, &c., to take new estates of their several holdings upon great increase of rents, &c. It is thought fitt that the said Sir Paul Davis be desired to give meeting to Mr. Attorney-General Basill, Sir James Barry, and Mr. Recorder Bisse, and to declare unto them what he can remember concerning the defective titles, Bishops' Leases, and Grand Office in Connaught, as aforementioned, to

The nature of these proceedings, together with the title of the earl to the territories of Ormond, will best appear from the following succinct account prepared by the earl of Ormonde's counsel upon the Restoration, when it would seem he began to fear lest the adventurers and soldiers might claim this district as part of the lands to be allotted to them in right of the title thus vested in the crown. This, as shown already, was altogether by connivance of the earl of Ormond with the lord deputy, and therefore with the earl's assent. There is therefore considerable *naïveté* in the following marginal note in his handwriting opposite the concluding paragraph, stating the omission to produce the deeds and instruments by which alone it came to be so vested, "My lord's consent to it not to be inferred."

"The case of Ormond, January, 1660 :—"

"King Henry II. graunted unto William de Bruce and his heirs the cantreds and territories of Upper Ormond, Lower Ormond, Elyogartie, Ikerryn, alias Dowokerrin, Owney, Keilnemanagh, Kilnelongkirtie, Ileagh, alias Douoleagh, and Arra, alias Douarra, in the County of Tipparie. William de Bruce, 2nd of King John, graunted the premises to Theobald Fitz Walter and his heirs, who graunted them to several English tenants to be held by certain rents and services, as both Ormonds to be held of the manor of Nenagh, and so the rest as of other manors. The premises came by lineal descent to the heirs of the said Theobald, until the tyme of King Henry VI., the O'Kennedies O'Briens, O'Dwyers, Meaghers, and others of the meer Irish (taking advantage of the absence of the earls of Ormond being in England) did enter into the premises, and killed and forcibly outed the former tenants. The right, title, and interest descended lineally unto Thomas earl of Ormond, who, by his deed dated 28th July, in the 20th year of King Henry VII., graunted the manor of Nenagh and its appurtenances, unto his cousin Piers Butler earl of Ossory, and dyed himself in England. By an Act of Parliament made in Ireland, 28th Henry VIII., entitled 'the Act of Absenties,' all the lands belonging to the

the end they may prepare and give an account thereof to Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.—Dated at the Castle of Dublin, 21st May, 1656."—*Privy Council Book*, p. 40. And among the Sterne MSS. there is this paper, which is no doubt Sir Paul Davis' answer to the foregoing Orders. It is without name or date:—

"Upon what grounds the late King was in the time of the Earl of Strafford entitled to the Irish and Protestants' estates in the province of Connaught, and Counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary."

"A commission issued under the Great Seale of Ireland, 7 July, 13 Car. i., to enquire of his Majesty's title unto several lands in the County of Tipperary, by virtue whereof an Inquisition was taken at Clonmel, 12th August, 1637—a title to the baronies, cantreds, and territories of Upper Ormond, Lower Ormond, Eliogarty, Ikerrin, Owney, Keylnemanagh, Keilnalongarty, Sleigh-Arra [Sleive Ardagh] in the County of Tipperary, from the Earls of Ormond to King Henry viii. by the Statute of Absentees, so to King Charles."—MSS. T.C.D., F. 3. 15.

* MSS.—Kilkenny Castle.

heires general of the said Thomas were given to the crowne saving the right of straungers. King Henry VIII., 23rd October, 29th year of his reign, did graunte unto Piers Butler earl of Ormond and Ossorie, and to his son lord James Butler, and to the heires male of the body of the said Piers, among other manors and lands, the manor of Nenagh with the appurtenances. And afterward by an Act of Parliament held in April in the same year, the said graunte and all other grauntes made to the said earl and lord James was confirmed and made good, any act or statute made in England or Ireland, or any other manner of cause to the contrary notwithstanding.

“The said James disposed of the said cantred of Ormond, by making several leases unto several of the O’Kennedies and others, and reserving rents out of every particular ploughland, and (amongst others) the chief of that name took lease, whereof the counterpart is yet extant. And after the said James’s death, Thomas earl of Ormond and Ossorie took these rents. By an office taken in the said County of Tipparie, 11th day of August, 1637, before the lord viscount Wentworth, lord deputie, and others, it was found that Theobald Fitz Walter, the first ancestor, was seized in his demesne as of fee of all the cantreds and territories aforesaid, and that they came by lineal descent unto the earl Thomas, and after his decease to his heires general, and that by reason of their absence in England, and by virtue of the said Act of Absenties all the premises became forfeited to Kinge Henry VIII., where he was seized in right of his crowne, and from him they descended unto King Charles I., his right heire: *Att the time of the taking of which office the said graunte made by the earl Thomas unto Piers (which was made before the said Act of Absenties) nor the said Act of Parliament whereby that graunt was made good, did not appeare, nor were produced.*”

Lord Strafford in announcing the finding makes no mention of any opposition offered. “His Majesty’s title to the two Ormonds,” he writes, “is found, and the people extremely well satisfied, desiring no more than to be used with like favour as the natives shall be in the other plantations now upon the wheel. . . . The countries,” he adds, “are not so great countries as Connaught by much, but I assure you, quantity for quantity, I take them to be twice as good.”*

Pursuant to the direction in the king’s letter, already set forth, a very accurate survey of the several baronies of the North Riding of Tipperary was made for lord Strafford, and a map, with a valuation annexed, was deposited in the surveyor-general’s office, then forming part of the old custom house, situated in Essex-street, in which building were also subsequently placed the privy council chambers, removed here from the Castle of Dublin, in Cromwell’s time.

An accidental fire, originating in a main beam under the hearth-stone of one of the apartments, having, on a Sunday morning, 15

*Letter to Secretary Cooke, dated Clonmel, 15th August, 1637.—Strafford’s *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 93.

April, 1711, consumed those buildings, a portion of the Down Survey, and the entire of the Strafford survey, perished in the flames.* A very accurate and nearly contemporaneous account of it, however, is to be found in Sir William Petty's History of the Down Survey; for Petty having applied for the use of it, to aid him in making his Down admeasurements of the County of Tipperary for the setting down of Cromwell's soldiery, upon the grounds, amongst others, that that County, by reason of the transplantation of the Irish into Connaught, was void of inhabitants acquainted with the bounds and mears of the forfeited estates, the commissioners of the Commonwealth for Ireland, by their order of 22nd of June, 1654, directed the surveyor-general and major Symner to report to them thereon. The report, which goes into great detail, states that they found maps and books of reference of the baronies of Ikerrin, Eliogarty, Kilnemanagh, Kilnelongarty, Ileagh, Upper and Lower Ormond, Arra, Owney-Mulrian, and Owney-beg. That the quantities in each surround were set down according to the denominations as one ploughland, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a ploughland, &c., and the quality, as arable, pasture, meadow, timber-wood, shrubby-wood, and bog, and this again into waste and that which holds a proportion, as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, in value to that which is profitable.† These maps were on the scale of 40 perches to an inch, being the same as the present Ordnance Survey, and were handed to Dr. Petty to facilitate or to dispense with the necessity of a Down admeasurement of the baronies already surveyed. But the requirement of Dr. Petty's contract, obliging him to some particulars not expressed in lord Strafford's survey, he says he took little advantage of it, and was necessitated to employ Dr. Patrick Ragget, of Thurles, "a person already conversant with those parts," to go over it again, and alter the maps as required; and to this day Dr. Patrick Ragget's name appears in the Down Survey, affixed as the surveyor to the several baronies in question.

This survey, as appears from Dr. Petty's account, was made for lord

* Whitelaw and Walsh's *History of Dublin*, pp. 472—3. Such is the statement. Yet, that some part remained in the office, appears from the following certificate of the deputy surveyor-general annexed to a map in the possession of lord Mountsandsford, given in the note:—"The above trace (for so much) agreeth with a piece of a map of Strafford's survey of the parish of Kilcorkey in the barony of Ballintobber and County of Roscommon (the rest being destroyed when the Elephant was burned) remaining in my custody). Peter Guarin, deputy surveyor-general."—*Ib.* But these fragments are not now forthcoming. Another trace of this survey in the possession of Thomas A. Sadleir, Esq., of Ballinderry, Borrisokane, was shown to the writer in March, 1850. Annexed to it was the following certificate:—"The above trace, for so much, agreeth with the map of the earl of Strafford's survey taken of the parish of Kilbarron in the barony of Lower Ormond and County of Tipperary, remaining in my custody. Thomas Dance. Examined the 22nd June, 1710, by Charles Mooney." It will be observed that this was taken just before the fire of April, 1711.

† Petty's *History of the Down Survey*, pp. 54—56; Irish Archæological Society. Dublin, 1851.

Strafford in the year 1639. Next year he was called over to England, and impeached in parliament, and the very proceedings now detailed became part of the grievances alleged against him, forming the 7th article of impeachment.* This article, however, was never intended to be prosecuted—it had served its end when it had swelled the train of the earl's accusers, and was accordingly waved at the trial; and soon after, king Charles wishing to conciliate the support of the Irish in the great struggle which was now too clearly seen to be at hand, agreed to confirm the estates of the several parties aimed at by lord Strafford's Inquisition, for an increased rent amounting to £2000 per annum. How little it was consistent with popular feeling in England, or with the intentions of the parties in power, to forego this plantation, will further appear from the complaints made of the abandonment of it in the celebrated "Declaration of the Commons of England concerning the rise and progress of the Grand Rebellion in Ireland," dated 25th July, 1643. In enumerating their grievances, the king's lenity in this matter is made a serious charge against him:—

"Before the rebellion broke forth (says the Declaration) the earl of Strafford by a violent endeavour entitled his Majesty by office to the whole Counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Galway, and Clare, and to a great part of the Counties of Limerick and Tipperary, by which means a door was opened to settle a plantation of English Protestants to the advancement of religion and the safety of that kingdom, and *however the proceedings herein were not to be justified at all points*, yet when the committee was sent from Ireland at the beginning of the Parliament to complain of divers grievances, they had no particular direction to mention this for one; neither did they ever attend his Majesty to complain thereof, until his Majesty freely offered to part with his title to the former proprietors. But on the contrary did by their letter importune his Majesty that he would not part with his title to those counties and lands: and that the plantation of English Protestants might proceed as was formerly intended."†

It mattered little, however, to the Irish proprietors of the Ormonds, and other northern baronies, that the projected plantation of English Protestants was not carried out in 1640. They had but a short respite, and were soon involved in a calamity that included alike the old English of the South Riding, and the Irish of the North Riding. In 1652 the war consequent on the great rebellion being near its close, the parliament of England, by their ordinance of the 12th August of that year, reciting that their arms had been so far successful that the total reducement of Ireland might, with God's blessing, be speedily effected, "and to the end that the people might know that it was not the intention of the Parliament to extirpate that whole nation," by their said ordinance proclaimed pardon "to all husbandmen, ploughmen, and

* Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, vol. viii. p. 64.

† *Ibid*, vol. v. pp. 346, 347.

others of inferior sort, not possessed of lands or goods exceeding ten pounds ;” but announced that all others “who had not shewn their constant good affection to the Parliament of England,” should be banished, some to foreign parts, the rest should quit their estates and receive allotments for their support “wherever the Parliament of England, in order to the more effectual settlement of the peace of the nation, should think fit to appoint.”*

In accordance with this announcement there issued from the commissioners of the parliament for the government of Ireland, on the 14th October, 1653, an order that all who were not included in the parliament’s mercy, should, themselves and their families, transplant beyond the Shannon before the 1st May following, under penalty of being shot to death by martial law if found after that date, without a pass, in any of the other three provinces.†

In the meantime, their estates were surveyed and Down-admeasured by Dr. Petty, for the satisfying the arrears of pay due to the soldiery. But so complete was the desolation of Tipperary, consequent on the transplantation, that none of the inhabitants that knew the bounds of the old estates, remained to accompany the surveyors ; and the government were obliged to order the temporary return of five or six families from Connaught, acquainted with the country, to show the bounds of the forfeited estates.‡ This survey was completed in the year 1654, and in that and the following year, the several regiments whose lots fell in the North Riding of Tipperary, were there set down, and thus was effected, though by different means than those employed by lord Strafford, the projected plantation of Ormond.

ON AN ANCIENT MONUMENTAL SLAB AT ATHLONE.

BY T. L. COOKE, ESQ.

[*Read at the Meeting of May 7th.*]

It is now more than six years since I had occasion to visit the celebrated town of Athlone. Having had a spare hour while there, I rambled to the ruins of the monastery which once belonged to the order of Conventual Franciscans. These remains stand, dressed in the venerable grandeur of antiquity, on the north-east side of the town. The religious house there mouldering in decay, was founded by Cathal Croibh-dhearg O’Conor, who did not live to complete the building,

* Scobell’s *Acts and Ordinances of the Parliament of England*.

† *Printed Proclamation*.—Kilkenny Castle.

‡ *Privy Council Book*, A. 5.

CORRIGENDA.

- p. 290, line 32, for "See Fionn," read "See Finn," and for "*Suidhe Fionn*," read "*Suidhe Finn*".
- p. 291, line 17, after "wide," dele " , ".
- p. 292, line 18, for "covering stone," read "covering-stone".
- Ib. line 41, after "Gaul," insert " , ".
- p. 293, line 4, for "Suidhe Fionn," read "Suidhe Finn," and for "*Suidhe Fionn*," read "*Suidhe Finn*".
- p. 322, line 3, from bottom, for "Argatros," read "Argetros".
- p. 323, line 9, for "Acadamy," read "Academy".
- p. 324, line 3, for "Fratertach," read "Flahertach".
- p. 387, line 14, for "centre," read "cavern".
- p. 400, line 28, after "what" insert "we".
- Ib. line 40, after "survey," insert " , ".
- p. 407, line 38, *note*, after "custody," dele ") ".
- p. 410, line 4, from bottom, *note*, for "ΤΗΟΚΡΑΤΗ," read "ΤΗΟΚΡΑΤΗ".
- p. 412, line 25, for "sight," read "site".
- p. 413, line 3, for "HORE," read "HOARE".
- p. 433, line 28, for "for," read "but".
- p. 442, line 2, for "RSQ.," read "ESQ".
- p. 446, line 15, after "lordship," dele " , ".
- p. 483, line 13, for "earls of Saxon," read "Saxon earls".
- p. 492, line 3, from bottom, after "*Kilkenny*," insert ") ".